

Message Text

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12

ACTION H-03

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 EUR-08 SS-07 RSC-01 /020 W

----- 026613

R 181600Z NOV 74

FM AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6189

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 DUBLIN 1652

STADIS////////////////////////////////////

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OREP (WOLFF, LESTER)

SUBJ: CODEL WOLFF

SUMMARY: CONGRESSMAN LESTER WOLFF VISITED DUBLIN NOVEMBER 13-17. HE WAS MET AT AIRPORT BY RUAIRI O'BRADAIGH, LEADER OF PROVISIONAL SINN FEIN/IRA. PROVOS HAD OBVIOUSLY HAD TRIED TO ARRANGE FULL PROGRAM FOR CONGRESSMAN INCLUDING VISIT TO NORTHERN IRELAND. CONGRESSMAN REQUESTED EMBASSY TO ARRANGE OTHER CONTACTS WHICH WOULD GIVE HIM BALANCED VIEW. IN HIS DISCUSSIONS WITH GOI AND OPPOSITION PARTY SPOKESMAN, CONGRESSMAN SAID THAT HE HAD BEEN USED BY PROVOS AND OBJECTED TO IT. HE STRONGLY OPPOSED VIOLENCE AND HAD VISITED IRELAND MAINLY TO INVESTIGATE CONDITIONS OF INTERNMENT IN NORTHERN IRELAND. BRITISH GOVERNMENT DID NOT ALLOW PRISON VISIT. CONGRESSMAN SAID THAT HIS PROGRAM HAD BEEN ARRANGED BY A YOUNG AMERICAN ACCOMPANYING HIM: SEAN WALSH OF "IRISH CAUCUS." WALSH HAD INCLUDED O'BRADAIGH WITHOUT CONGRESSMAN'S KNOWLEDGE. END SUMMARY

1. DUBLIN NEWSPAPERS MORNING OF NOVEMBER 13 REPORTED THAT CONGRESSMAN WOLFF PLANNED VISIT REPUBLIC AED NORTHERN IRELAND, AND THAT BRITISH GOVT HAD NOT GRANTED HIS REQUEST TO VISIT INTERNEES AT LONG KESH PRISON. ONE PAPER GAVE CONGRESSMAN'S EXPECTED CONTACTS IN NORTH, WHO WERE ALL CATHOLICS IDENTIFIED WITH EXTREME POSITIONS. AT SAME TIME, WE RECEIVED STATE 249423, WHICH SAID THAT VISIT WAS PRIVATE AND NO ASSISTANCE NEEDED EXCEPT HOTEL RESERVATIONS.

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WM WE INFORMED SEAN DONLON, ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR ANGLO-

IRISH AFFAIRS IN FONOFF, THAT VISIT WAS PRIVATE AND THAT EMBASSY HAD NO INFO EXCEPT THAT IN PRESS. DONLON HAD READ SAME NEWSPAPER STORIES, AND HE DISAPPROVED OF CODEL PROGRAM IN VERY STRONG TERMS. ANY NEWSPAPER READER, DONLON SAID, WOULD REALIZE THAT CONGRESSMAN'S VISIT WOULD ASSIST EFFORTS OF PROVISIONAL IRA TO COLLECT MONEY IN THE US. FURTHER, DONLON WAS CONVINCED THAT CONGRESSMAN KNEW WHAT HE WAS DOING, SINCE HE HAD FULL BRIEFINGS ON HIS PREVIOUS VISIT TO DUBLIN AND SINCE IRISH SPOKESMAN HAD CONTINUED TO STAY IN TOUCH WITH HIM IN US. HE SAID THAT GOI MIGHT NOT RECEIVE CONGRESSMAN. AT SAME TIME, HE SAID THAT HE WAS SPEAKING WITHOUT FIRM INSTRUCTIONS. WE REPLIED THAT WE WOULD RESPECT HIS WISHES BUT THAT WE HOPED GOI WOULD RECEIVE CODEL IF REQUESTED AND EXPLAIN DUBLIN'S POSITION ON FUND-RAISING FOR IRA. WE NOTED THAT IT IS NOT AS EASY TO GET BALANCED PICTURE IN WASHINGTON AS IN IRELAND.

3. EARLY MORNING NOVEMBER 14 WE RECEIVED STATE 250360, ASKING US TO MEET AND ASSIST CONGRESSMAN. CONTROL OFFICER DATUS PROPER MET HIM AT AIRPORT. HE WAS ACCOMPANIED BY AMERICAN STAFF ASSISTANT AND BY A YOUNG MAN NAMED SEAN WALSH FROM GROUP CALLED "IRISH CAUCUS" IN WASHINGTON, WHICH WAS NEVER FULLY IDENTIFIED EXCEPT AS AN "UMBRELLA GROUP" INCLUDING ANCIENT ORDER OF HIBERNIANS, AND EMERALD SOCEITY OF BROOKLYN, INTER ALIA.

4. AFTER EMBOFF HAD ASSISTED CODEL THROUGH CUSTOMS, WALSH ASKED GROUP TO WAIT A MOMENT, THEN WENT OFF TO ANOTHER PART OF AIRPORT AND CAME BACK WITH ANOTHER WELCOMING DELEGATION. IT INCLUDED RUAIRI O'BRADAIGH, PRESIDENT OF PROVISIONAL SINN FEIN. OTHERS ON DELEGATION WERE FRANK MCMANUS (FORMER NATIONALIST MP FROM NORTHERN IRELAND), FRANK MAGUIRE (MCMANUS' SUCCESSOR), AND A YOUNG PRIEST.

5. EMBOFF HAD OPPORTUNITY TALK TO CODEL AND HIS STAFF ASSISTANT PRIVATELY IN CAR ON WAY TO HOTEL. CONGRESSMAN SAID THAT HE WAS MAKING VISIT BECAUSE HE HAD PROMISED HIS CONSTITUENTS TO DO SO, AND BECAUSE HE STRONGLY OPPOSED INTERNMENT. HE WONDERED HOW NOVEMBER 13 NEWSPAPERS HAD GOT INFO ON HIS VISIT, SINCE HE HAD NOT GIVEN NEWS CONFERENCE UNTIL LATER. HE DID NOT SAY ANYTHING OF HIS SCHEDULE EXCEPT THAT HE STILL HOPED TO VISIT LONG KESH
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PRISON AND MIGHT TRAVEL TO NORTHERN IRELAND IN ANY CASE.

6. EMBOFF GAVE CONGRESSMAN SHORT BUT FAIRLY DETAILED BRIEFING ON POLITICAL SITUATION, INCLUDING GOI CONCERN ABOUT FUND-RAISING IN US AND TERRORIST ACTIVITIES OF PROVISIONAL SINN FEIN/IRA. WE DESCRIBED O'BRADAIGH'S LEADERSHIP ROLE IN PROVOS, WHICH MAKES HIM A VERY OBJECTIONABLE FIGURE LOCALLY. WE MENTIONED THAT PROVO IRA HAD BEEN REJECTED AT POLLS BY VIRTUALLY ALL IRISH

PEOPLE AND THAT IRISH THOUGHT PROVOS WERE METHODICALLY ATTEMPT-
ING TO KEEP INTERNMENT ALIVE BY SUCH MEANS AS RECENT ASSASSINA-
TIONS OF NORTHERN IRELAND JUDGES. WE WARNED CONGRESSMAN OF
POSSIBLE DANGERS INVOLVED IN TRAVELS TO NORTHERN IRELAND ON
PROGRAM ARRANGED BY EXTREMISTS. CODEL LATER DECIDED NOT TO VISIT NORTH.

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ACTION H-03

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R 181600Z NOV 74

FM AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6188

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 DUBLIN 1652

STADIS////////////////////////////////////

7. ON AFTERNOON OF NOVEMBER 14, CONGRESSMAN ASKED US TO MAKE
SOME APPOINTMENTS FOR HIM WITH IRISH POLITICAL LEADERS SO THAT
HE WOULD GET BALANCED PICTURE. DONLON AGREED TO SEE HIM AFTER
SOME DISCUSSION WITH US AND AFTER CONSULTING FOREIGN MINISTER
FITZGERALD (WHO WAS TIED UP WITH VISIT OF FRENCH PM). WE ALSO
MADE APPOINTMENT WITH LEADING OPPOSITION PARTY (FIANNA FAIL)
SPOKESMEN.

8. DONLON RECEIVED CONGRESSMAN NOVEMBER 15 AND EXPRESSED
GREAT CONCERN OVER HIS ASSOCIATION WITH RUAIRI O'BRADAIGH.
O'BRADAIGH, SAID DONLON, IS A "GUNMAN" CONVICTED BY COURT IN
REPUBLIC OF MEMBERSHIP IN IRA, AND WELL-KNOWN AS SENIOR LEADER
OF BOTH SINN FEIN AND IRA. IT WAS "REPUGNANT" TO GOI TO FIND
AN AMERICAN POLITICAL LEADER IN CLOSE CONTACT WITH O'BRADAIGH,
SINCE PROVISIONAL IRA WOULD CERTAINLY EXPLOIT THIS ASSOCIATION
TO GAIN INCREASED RESPECTABILITY IN US AND RAISE MORE MONEY
FOR ITS OWN VIOLENT PURPOSES. AS AN EXAMPLE OF PROBLEM HERE,
DONLON SAID HE HAD JUST RETURNED FROM VISIT TO NORTH. ONE
PORTION OF HIS VISIT WAS SPENT IN THE HOUSE OF SDLP LEADER
AUSTIN CURRIE, WHO HAD JUST HAD A SHOT FIRED AT HIS HOUSE.
THIS WAS ABOUT THE TENTH VIOLENT INCIDENT DURING RECENT YEARS
AT CURRIE'S HOUSE ALONG. DONLON STATED THIS PARTICULAR SHOT HAD BEEN

FIRE BY A REPRESENTATIVE OF PROVISIONAL IRA USING AN AMERICAN ARMALITE RIFLE, BOUGHT WITH MONEY RAISED IN THE U.S. BY GROUPS FRIENDLY TO O'BRAIDAIGH. DONLON URGED CONGRESSMAN TO TALK TO MEMBERS OF SDLP TO SEEHOW STRONGLY THEY FEEL AGAINST AMERICAN SUPPORT FOR IRA.

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9. CONGRESSMAN REPLIED THAT HE WOULD LIKE TO SPEAK TO SDLP AND HE ALSO WANTED TO STRAIGHTEN OUT AN OBVIOUS MISUNDERSTANDING ABOUT HIS TRIP. HE HAD NOT KNOWN THAT HE WOULD BE MEETING RUAIRI O'BRAIDAIGH IN DUBLIN, AND IN FACT HE OBJECTED TO BEING USED BY IRA. HE HAD COME TO IRELAND WITH SEAN WALSH OF THE "IRISH CZUCUS" IN WASHINGTON, WHO HAD BEEN RECOMMENDED TO HIM BY WELL-KNOWN IRISH-AMERICAN GROUPS SUCH AS ANCIENT ORDER OF HIBERNIANS. IN LIGHT OF O'BRAIDAIGH MEETING, CONGRESSMAN OBSERVED THAT WALSH WAS OBVIOUSLY NOT AS RESPECTABLE AS HE HAD BEEN PORTRAYED. CONGRESSMAN SAID THAT HE WAS STRONGLY OPPOSED TO VIOLENCE FROM ANY SOURCE AND THAT HE HAD VISITED IRELAND BECAUSE OF CONCERN OVER INTERNMENT RATHER THAN BECAUSE OF ANY LEANINGS TOWARD IRA. HE SUGGESTED THAT GOI MIGHT HAVE BEEN INCONSISTENT IN ITS OPPOSITION TO TERRORISM WHEN IT VOTED TO GIVE PLO A HEARING IN NEW YORK. HE FELT THAT THIS VOTE MIGHT CAUSE A GREAT DEAL OF TROUBLE. DONLON SAID THAT GOI HAD BEEN WORRIED ABOUT PLO PROBLEM BUT HAD DECIDED THAT IT SHOULD VOTE TO ALLOW PLO A HEARING. THERE WAS, DONLON SAID, ONE MAJOR DIFFERENCE BETWEEN PLO AND IRA. ALMOST EVERYONE AGREED THAT PALESTINIANS HAD TO BE GIVEN POLITICAL REPRESENTATION, BUT PALESTINIANS HAD NOT BEEN GIVEN THE OPPORTUNITY OF VOTING FOR THEIR LEADERS. UNDER THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, PLO SEEMED ONLY ORGANIZATION AVAILABLE WITH ANY CLAIMS TO REPRESENT PEOPLE. IRISH PEOPLE, ON THE OTHER HAND, HAD BEEN GIVEN MANY OPPORTUNITIES TO CHOOSE THEIR LEADERS, AND HAD STRONGLY REJECTED IRA DURING MANY ELECTIONS. DONLON SAID THAT HE WAS GLAD TO HAVE CONGRESSMAN'S CLARIFICATION OF HIS POSITION TOWARD IRA, AND INTERVIEW CONCLUDED PLEASANTLY AFTER LONG TALK ON LESS PRICKLY SUBJECTS.

10. LATER SAME AFTERNOON, CONGRESSMAN WOLFF WAS RECEIVED BY TWO SENIOR FIANNA FAIL SPOKESMEN: MICHAEL O'KENNEDY, SHADOW FOREIGN MINISTER; AND RMAIRA BRUGHA, SHADOW MINISTER OF POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS. CONGRESSMAN BEGAN MEETING WITH DETAILED EXPLANATION, SIMILAR TO THAT GIVEN DONLON, OF MANNER IN WHICH HE HAD BEEN MISLED BY HIS ESCORT FROM "IRISH CAUCUS". HE SAID THAT HE WAS NOT THE KIND OF PERSON WHO LIKED TO BE USED BY ANYONE, AND HE WANTED THIS KNOWN. FIANNA FAIL SPOKESMAN WELCOMED THESE COMMENTS AND SAID THEY STRONGLY REJECTED IRA VIOLENCE. FOR MANY YEARS, THEY HAD MADE CLEAR THAT THEY WANTED TO PURSUE IRISH UNITY ONLY WINNING THE CONSENT OF NORTHERN PROTESTANT COMMUNITY. LIKE CONGRESSMAN, THEY BELIEVED INTERNMENT HAD BEEN

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A MISTAKE AND SHOULD BE ENDED.

11. DURING CALL ON AMB, CONGRESSMAN REITERATED HIS CONCERN ABOUT BEING USED BY PROVOS BUT, IN REPLY TO QUESTION, SAID THAT HE CONSIDERED IRISH CAUCUS A LEGITIMATE GROUP ON WHICH HE COULD RELY FOR ADVICE.

12. CONGRESSMAN TOLD US THAT HE HAD REQUESTED PERMISSION TO VISIT LONG KESH PRISON DIRECTLY FROM BRITISH IN WASHINGTON RATHER THAN BY USING DIPLOMATIC CHANNELS. BRITISH HAD EVIDENTLY REFUSED HIS REQUEST, BUT HE ASKED US TO PLACE IT AGAIN. EMBASSY LONDON DID SO IN RESPONSE TO A CABLE FROM DUBLIN AND CONFIRMED THAT PERMISSION HAD BEEN DENIED (LONDON 14958) DURING PRESENT DIFFICULT SECURITY SITUATION, THOUGH CODEL VISIT WOULD BE ALLOWED WHEN SITUATION NORMALIZED.

13. DURING CALLS ON ALL CONTACTS, CONGRESSMAN WOLFF MENTIONED THAT HOUSE FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE WOULD PROBABLY HOLD NEW HEARINGS ON IRISH VIOLENCE IN JANUARY 1975. ONE OF THE PURPOSES OF HIS TRIP WAS TO CONSIDER POSSIBLE WITNESSES AT HEARINGS. IN THIS CONNECTION, HE TOLD EMBOFF THAT HE WANTED QUESTION OF RUAIRI O'BRADAIGH'S VISA TO BE "LOOKED AT" AGAIN. EMBOFF EXPLAINED REASONS FOR REVOCATION OF O'BRADAIGH'S VISA WHEN MATTER LAST AROSE. CONGRESSMAN SAID THAT HE WAS NOT REQUESTING APPROVAL OF VISA BUT SIMPLY TO HAVE QUESTION STUDIED AGAIN. EMBOFF SAID THAT THIS WOULD CERTAINLY BE DONE CAREFULLY.

13. SUMMARIES OF CONVERSATIONS REPORTED ABOVE WERE PREPARED AFTER CONGRESSMAN LEFT DUBLIN AND WERE NOT DISCUSSED WITH HIM.
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